

\*\*\*\*\* TOP SECRET \*\*\*\*\* COPY

Chris Bach

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HAKTD 51

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT --FLASH--  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. THE CHINESE AND WE HAVE AGREED ON A POSITIVE JOINT COMMUNIQUE. THE TEXT FOLLOWS AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE. YOU SHOULD PASS THIS TEXT AND THE EXPLANATION BELOW TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS INFORMATION ONLY. WE WILL RELEASE THIS COMMUNIQUE JOINTLY WITH THE CHINESE, DOING IT BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND WITH THE TRAVELING PRESS IN TOKYO WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 14 AT WHICH TIME I WILL DO A PRESS BRIEFING. THE EXACT TIME OF RELEASE WILL BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN A FEW HOURS AND WE WILL FLASH IT TO YOU AS SOON AS IT IS CONFIRMED. ZIEGLER SHOULD BE GIVEN ONLY THE TEXT AND HE MUST NOT REPEAT NOT EMBELLISH IT IN ANY WAY OR ATTEMPT TO ANSWER QUESTIONS SINCE HE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO KNOW THE NUANCES. PLEASE KEEP ALL OF THIS INFORMATION VERY TIGHT. AS SOON AS WE FLASH YOU THE TIME OF RELEASE PLEASE INFORM DOBRYNIN OF THE TIME, GIVE HIM THE TEXT AND COMMENT THAT IT IS IN EFFECT A REPETITION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

2. THE BASIC CONCEPT OF THIS NEW COMMUNIQUE IS TO TAKE THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND BROADEN ITS IMPLICATIONS. THERE ARE THE FOLLOWING MAJOR CHANGES:

- THE REFRAINING FROM HEGEMONY BY THE US AND CHINA AND THE OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY BY ANY OTHERS IS EXPANDED BEYOND THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION TO QUOTE ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORD END QUOTE.
- CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE PRC ARE BROADENED.
- THE CHINESE HAVE MADE A MAJOR CONCESSION ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BY REQUIRING ONLY THE QUOTE PRINCIPLE END QUOTE OF ONE CHINA, I.E. AS OPPOSED TO REQUIRING THE PRACTICE, THIS IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPEMENT OF THIS VISIT WHICH I WILL EXPLAIN MORE FULLY UPON MY RETURN, BUT IT IS

\*\*\*\*\* WHSR COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, ROUMAN, SEC FILE

PSN:038854

PAGE 01

TOR:317/22:43Z

DTG:132150Z NOV 73

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ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT IT NOT BE STRESSED FOR NOW.

IN EVERY CONCRETE AREA THERE IS AN EXTENSION OF EXISTING PRACTICES, I.E. IN THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LIAISON OFFICES, EXCHANGES, AND TRADE. ON THE LATTER, WE HAVE IN EFFECT SETTLED THE CLAIMS/BLOCKED ASSETS ISSUES BUT THERE IS STILL SOME LEGAL MOPPING UP TO DO AND WE HAVE LEFT THIS FOR LATER.

3. THE COMMUNIQUE TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

#### COMMUNIQUE

DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE AND ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, VISITED THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA FROM NOVEMBER 10 TO NOVEMBER 14, 1973. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ROBERT INGERSON, ROBERT MCCLOSKEY, ARTHUR HUMMEL, WINSTON LORD, OSCAR ARMSTRONG, JONATHAN HOWE AND RICHARD SOLOMON.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG RECEIVED SECRETARY KISSINGER. THEY HELD A WIDE-RANGING AND FAR-SIGHTED CONVERSATION IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE. SECRETARY KISSINGER CONVEYED GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT NIXON, AND CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG SENT HIS GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT.

SECRETARY KISSINGER AND MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY HELD FRANK AND SERIOUS TALKS WITH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, FOREIGN MINISTER QI PENG-FEI, VICE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA, ASSISTANT FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG, DIRECTOR LIN PINO, DIRECTOR PENG-HUA, TSIEH TA-YUNG, TING YUAN-HUNG AND OTHERS.

OFFICIALS OF THE TWO SIDES CONDUCTED COUNTERPART TALKS ON BILATERAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN AND MADE GOOD PROGRESS.

THE TWO SIDES REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE DR. KISSINGER'S VISIT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN FEBRUARY, 1973. THEY NOTED THAT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE IN A PERIOD OF INTENSE CHANGE. THEY REAFFIRMED THAT THEY ARE COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND THAT DISPUTES BETWEEN STATES SHOULD BE SETTLED WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE, ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES, NON-AGGRESSION AGAINST OTHER STATES, NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES, EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. IN PARTICULAR, THEY REITERATED THAT NEITHER SHOULD SEEK HEGEMONY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION OR ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD AND THAT EACH IS OPPOSED TO EFFORTS BY ANY OTHER COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES TO ESTABLISH SUCH HEGEMONY.

THE TWO SIDES AGREED THAT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES

PSN:030884

PAGE 02

TOR:1317/22143Z

DTG:132150Z NOV 73

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\*\*\*\*\* S E C R E T \*\*\*\*\*

IT IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO MAINTAIN FREQUENT CONTACT AT AUTHORITY-LEVELS IN ORDER TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND WHILE NOT NEGOTIATING ON BEHALF OF THIRD PARTIES, TO ENGAGE IN CONCRETE CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

BOTH SIDES REVIEWED PROGRESS MADE DURING 1973 IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE U.S. SIDE REAFFIRMED: THE UNITED STATES ACKNOWLEDGES THAT ALL CHINESE ON EITHER SIDE OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT MAINTAIN THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND THAT TAIWAN IS A PART OF CHINA; THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CHALLENGE THAT POSITION. THE CHINESE SIDE REITERATED THAT THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES CAN BE REALIZED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE CHINA.

BOTH SIDES NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE LIAISON OFFICES IN PEKING AND WASHINGTON ARE FUNCTIONING SMOOTHLY. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE SCOPE OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LIAISON OFFICES SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE EXPANDED.

EXCHANGES HAVE DEEPEENED UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES. THE TWO SIDES STUDIED THE QUESTION OF ENLARGING THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND AGREED UPON A NUMBER OF NEW EXCHANGES FOR THE COMING YEAR.

TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAS DEVELOPED RAPIDLY DURING THE PAST YEAR. THE TWO SIDES HELD THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO TAKE MEASURES TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT.

THE TWO SIDES STATED THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

SECRETARY KISSINGER AND HIS PARTY EXPRESSED THEIR GRATITUDE FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO THEM BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

NOVEMBER 14, 1973

END TEXT

\*. MARK REGARDS.

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PAGE 03

DR 03

TOR:1217/22143Z

DTG:132150Z NOV 73

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